APRIL, 1947
Vol. 2 No. 4

New South
FORMERLY THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

Mitchell Takes Up Duties As New Director of SRC

Johnson, Having Put SRC on a Solid Foundation, Remains as Consultant Until His Return to Chapel Hill in Summer

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL, former Farm Security Administration official and for the past year-and-a-half director of SRC's veterans services, this month moved into the post of Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council to carry on the work so solidly established by Dr. Guy B. Johnson during the past three years.

Dr. Johnson, who tendered his resignation at last November's annual meeting of SRC in order to return to the faculty of the University of North Carolina, will remain with the Council until summer as consultant to Dr. Mitchell. Dr. Johnson, with 20 years of experience on the faculty at Chapel Hill, has served as Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council since its inception in February, 1944. He is returning to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology as research professor.

Policies Unchanged

"We are sorry to lose Dr. Johnson, whose sound judgment has won respect for the Southern Regional Council," said SRC President, Paul Williams, in announcing Dr. Mitchell's appointment. "Dr. Mitchell is qualified in every way to carry on the Council's work to help the South develop its human and material resources for the good of all its people, to move toward tolerance, opportunity and prosperity. The policies of the Southern Regional Council will remain the same.

"Dr. Mitchell is a native Southerner, has lived and worked many years in the South, and he knows the Southern people, their ways and their problems. I am confident that under his direction the Southern Regional Council will go forward as soundly and as steadily as ever."

SRC's Work

"Guy Johnson has put the Southern Regional Council on a solid footing and pushed its work steadily throughout the South," Dr. Mitchell said. "He has a profound and extensive knowledge of Southern history, Southern people and Southern ways —and sound judgment as to what is to be done.

"The Council tries to draw together and represent the best thought of the Southern people themselves about the problems faced by the South. Most of that thinking is pretty practical. We in the Council, like our members scattered over the South, seek constantly the next improving step. We have not gone in for slogans or for the pet solutions of any particular group. What people of good will of both races can agree is the right thing to do today and the right plans to lay for the future—that is what guides the Southern Regional Council.

"One clear field of agreement is the South's need for means to develop its resources and well-being,

and for democratic participation among all its people.

"The Council believes that much of what has been described as the race problem in the South is really a composite of the problems of poverty on the land and in the towns, of educational backwardness and a morality lamed by the cruelties that are a part of our past.

"Not all groups in the South are yet able to see that race prejudice, discrimination and mob violence are not only wrong but destructive to the energy and moral fiber of the whole region. The South has too great a need of all its energies and resources to waste and degrade them on hatred and violence. The people of the South, white and colored, must realize that our problems and our goals are mutual and that only by cooperation, not antagonism, can we carry the South forward to the good life that all of us are seeking."

SRC's Future

Dr. Johnson, in turning over the directorship to Dr. Mitchell, said:

"George Mitchell has the understanding, and the ability, to do constructive work on Southern problems. He is thoroughly familiar with the Council's policies and methods. I am sure he will do an excellent job with the same wholehearted cooperation from the SRC staff and membership that I have received. I know that Dr. Mitchell, with the aid of our capable and energetic president, Paul Williams, can lead the Council on to greater achievement and recognition in the coming years."

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, Associate Executive Director of SRC, said:

"The Southern Regional Council is fortunate in obtaining the services of Dr. Mitchell as Executive Director. We of the SRC staff have had the pleasure of working with him for a year-and-a-half. His energy and ability, coupled with his good personality, earn for him willing cooperation and loyalty. All of us are sorry to lose Dr. Johnson, who has done such good work for the Council and for the South. We are glad that the directorship relinquished by Dr. Johnson will still be in competent hands with Dr. Mitchell."

Dr. Mitchell was born in Richmond in 1902. His father, Dr. S. C. Mitchell of Richmond, former president of the University of South Carolina and the University of Delaware, has taught history at the University of Richmond for many years.

Wide Experience

Dr. George Mitchell was graduated from the University of Richmond, received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins in 1926, and studied for three years as a Rhodes scholar at Britain's Oxford University. After he returned to the United States he taught economics at Columbia University for six years. From Columbia he went into government work with the Resettlement Administration and its successor, the Farm Security Administration, where he served as director of labor relations and later as special assistant officer to the administrator. From 1936 to 1939 he was regional director for FSA in five states of the Upper South (Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia), with headquarters in Raleigh. From Raleigh he returned to Washington as assistant administrator of FSA and in that capacity headed for two years a branch of the Washington office in Cincinnati. Dr. Mitchell was southeastern regional director of the CIO Political Action Committee for a year-and-a-quarter until June 1945, when he joined the Southern Regional Council as director of veterans services.

Dr. Mitchell is married and has two daughters.

Savannah Mayor Appoints Negro Advisory Committee

As a significant innovation in the city's political life, Hon. John G. Kennedy, the new mayor of Savannah, Georgia, has appointed a Negro advisory committee to keep his administration in touch with the interests of the race. That the committee might be truly representative the Mayor left to colored leaders the selection of its members.

'Lip Service' Is Not Enough

By the Rev. Stewart Patterson

ONE DAY long ago in America a shout rang out and an entire people echoed it. "Give me liberty, or give me death." Patrick Henry, the small town lawyer, in a short speech that day, gave expression to a sentiment that has since brought us all that we know of freedom in this nation.

Today another race, more trampled and abused than that for which Patrick Henry was spokesman, is using his slogan. The men and women of this race have known nothing in their history but degradation and despair. In their slow but certain progress they have overcome unheard of obstacles and hurdled unprecedented barriers.

The Negro foresees a world which is free to him, and he is straining with a mighty effort to enter into it. There are men of color in America who, like Patrick Henry, will be willing to enter into it through war. So anxious are they for liberty that they would rather die than live longer without it.

Others do not want bloodshed and strife. They desire that sure progress be made in a manner comformible to the spirit of religion. Strife they decry and endeavor to prevent it. Yet, the masses of their race are goaded onward by an intangible necessity to reap the fruits of their several centuries labor and wait. If peace means a continuation of social and economic serfdom they cannot, being human, choose peace rather than strife.

The problems are said to be insurmountable. Not alone are the advocates of violence discovered among the race which is calling for an extension of Constitutional liberties. They are found more readily in the white man's camp. Fear grips the white race and it tries impulsively to blockade itself against the Negro's demands. The years of wrong and ostracism directed toward the Negro are remembered, and the master is afraid.

And instead of seeking harmonious relations, and a gradual but progressive social and economic emancipation for the Negro, he undertakes to stifle the tempest and treats the revolutionary as he treated the serf.

But what of us, who search for a solution to this problem? How far can we go in giving freedom to the Negro? What are our obligations as organized Christians?

1. To determine answers to these questions the Baptist churches of the South should work out a real program, which does not simply pay lip service to "better race relations." Any so-called declaration on our part having to do with these issues is absolutely worthless, even as propaganda, unless we mean to follow it up with appropriate action. If the declaration doesn't clearly imply action along specific lines it is a hollow mockery —a mere safety valve for our burning consciences.

2. This program should call for close cooperation between the Southern Baptist churches and the Negro Baptist churches. Methods for contacts between the pastors and between the congregations should be planned and urged upon local churches. Only by means of frequent contacts on the basis of equality as co-religionists can Christians of both races eliminate the suspicion and mis-

---

What the Rev. Stewart Patterson, of Chattanooga, says in this article reprinted from the Tennessee Baptist Reflector has meaning for church people of all denominations.

---

understanding that is the chief root of prejudice and ill will.

3. Not only should the racial question be considered and recommendations for its solution acted upon, but this vital issue should become the most widely discussed problem in our church. It is of even greater importance than the question of prohibitions upon the sale of alcoholic beverages.

The implications of racial strife at this period in world history are of the first magnitude. *A nation which keeps a large portion of its population in a state of subservience and humiliation cannot hope to exert a truly Christian influence on international affairs.* And if Christianity, whose headquarters is America, fails of its purpose and refuses to put into practice the ideals of Jesus, which alone can impress the nations with His religion and His plan for their salvation, atheism and chaos will inherit the remains of civilization.

Southern Baptist churches are responsible to God for what they do or fail to do in this matter. Either we evolve means for averting catastrophe, and do so in the name of Jesus who died for all the races of men, or we shame "that holy name by which we are called." We shall be deserters of Christ, as was Peter on the night of Calvary.

Carnegie Names Negro Colleges For Better Teaching Program

Twelve Negro colleges and universities in five Southern states have been added to the five-year program designed to improve college teaching, launched in 1946 by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Dr. O. C. Carmichael, president of the Foundation, announced recently. This brings to 45 the total number of Southern colleges and universities participating in the Carnegie project.

The program in the Negro institutions will be financed jointly by a Foundation grant of $215,000 and by contributions of $60,000 from the cooperating colleges, making available a total of $275,000. It parallels the previous Foundation grant of $700,000 to 33 other Southern institutions which have added $200,000. Thus the overall investment in this present five-year program in the South will be $1,175,000, of which the 45 participating colleges will provide $260,000 and the Foundation will contribute $915,000. The funds to cover the Foundation's appropriations have been made available to it by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Dr. Carmichael said.

In the program for Negro colleges, the University of Atlanta is serving as a focal point for four local institutions: Morehouse College, Spelman College, Clark College and Morris Brown College. The five other institutions cooperating with Atlanta University are Dillard University, New Orleans; Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, Tallahassee; Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Georgia; Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama; and Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Also participating in the Carnegie program are North Carolina College, Durham; and Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

"During 1945, of the Nation's 46,000,000 family units 9,300,000 had an income of less than $1,000; 12,400,000 had an income of more than $1,000 and less than $2,000; while 10,300,000 had an income of more than $2,000 and less than $3,000. By the close of 1945, at the end of a period of unprecedented prosperity, in cash, bank accounts, and government bonds, 40 percent of our population had accumulated but $70 per family, 50 percent of our families had in cash, bank accounts, and government bonds but $169 per family, while 10 percent of our families had $78,000,000,000 or $16,739 per family."

Christian Frontiers.

Methodist Women State Principles

Here is the text of a resolution adopted by North Georgia Methodist women at a recent meeting:

WE, THE Woman's Society of Christian Service of the North Georgia Conference, The Methodist Church, in annual session, March 27, in Atlanta, Georgia,

1. Urge and will continue to expect full justice to be given in all our courts to all citizens, regardless of station in life, creed or color, and we urge all Methodist women to lift their voices both in support of good government and law enforcement and in protest against any acts of unfairness or brutality on the part of any officer of the law and against injustice wherever found.

2. We are aware that while Georgia law calls for separate facilities for the races in education, transportation, etc., it specifically calls for separate but *equal* accommodations. In all decency and fairness we resolve to work to that end.

3. We resolve to intensify our program against the crime of lynching by: a. Wide distribution of the leaflet, "What One Woman Can Do Against Lynching." b. Securing pledges of church people and public officials to oppose lynching.

4. We also earnestly deplore the injection of race as an issue in any political campaign because doing so,

a. provides a smokescreen to hide real issues.
b. foments fear and distrust on the part of both races.
c. breeds hatred, injustice and lynchings and encourages hate organizations.
d. destroys good government.
e. undermines world peace by causing other nations to doubt our sincerity.

5. We do affirm our unalterable opposition to a "white primary" because it is in direct violation of the constitution of the U.S. and the U.N., of the Discipline of the Methodist Church, of the Social Creed of the Churches and the principles of the Christian religion. We favor in its place educational requirements fairly and equally administered for all voters.

6. We urge our nation to accept its full share of responsibility in providing homes for displaced and homeless victims of totalitarian brutality and religious persecution and we pledge ourselves as Christians to respond liberally to the calls for World Relief as long as the need exists.

7. It is our conviction that peacetime universal military training by the U.S. would undermine the disarmament proposal being considered by the U.N. and is thus both unadvisable and useless in this atomic age.

8. Believing that the concept of "One World" is inherent in the gospel of Christ, we favor the strengthening of the U.N.O. by the early organization of a world police force and by working toward the formation of a world government with limited powers adequate to prevent war.

Teachers Help European Colleagues

Scarcity and hardships continue to march hand in hand for teachers in many liberated countries of Europe and Asia, reports Dr. Reinhold Schairer, Executive Director of the World Education Service Council in his 1947 message to the "Teachers Good Will Service." The severe winter hampered reconstruction and has added to the confused state of educational problems overseas.

Dr. Schairer outlined a simple plan whereby every teacher can be a part of this peace-building cause through sending a Friendship Package and Friendship Letter to colleagues overseas.

For further information write to World Education Service Council, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

South's Problems, Promise Seen in New Books

INTO THE MAIN STREAM by Charles S. Johnson and Associates. The University of North Carolina Press. 1947. 355 pages. $3.50.

Reviewed by HAROLD L. TRIGG

IN THE United States as a whole the period from April, 1943, to July, 1944, saw no fewer than 224 national, regional, and local committees established to deal with problems of racial minorities. The number and wide distribution of these committees, the majority of which are concerned with Negro-white relations, is one indication that Negroes are moving "into the main stream" of American life. Their place in our democracy is of national concern.

This book was written by a noted sociologist, author, and a disciplined student of race relations. His associates will also be known to many who seek an understanding of the problems involved in human relations in the "main stream," and the best means for integrating the maximal positive contribution of the Negro into the composite welfare of the whole.

There is in this book a wholesome absence of fantastic theory, name-calling, blame-fixing, and overtones too often found in current literature on race. There is the frank admission that the "items (activities, events) are set on the credit side of the ledger" for the fundamental purpose of presenting a sampling of the programs which show "better practices" in race relations.

The ten-page introduction by the author must be read with understanding before the eleven chapters of "better practices" in the South may have meaning. In these few pages he discusses a controversial issue with clarity and realistic courage.

The South is no different from the country as a whole in her basic philosophies of living. There has been difficulty in finding ways to implement these common convictions; and the widespread concern for improved human relations is the best possible indication that no satisfying final formula has been found.

The official recognition of the principle of "equalization" in educational opportunity, later extended to health, welfare, transportation and recreation, and now being extended to employment, suffrage and the courts, is certainly a tremendous advance over previous years. It is the parallel principle of "separation" which has become more rigid, accompanied by the demand that the Negro openly accept segregation. According to the author, the Negro cannot make a public acceptance of race segregation as the final solution of the problems of race relations in a democratic society, without accepting for "all time a definition of himself as something less than his fellow man."

In actuality Negro leaders have worked within the framework of segregation, pressing persistently for equality of services and of opportunity, not social contact. "They will not and cannot say that they will never disturb the present policy of segregation," therefore a stalemate occurs in regional progress.

The suggested new basis for accommodation is that both groups cease to demand "what is for the present impossible" and *undertake together programs of action in those areas where there is agreement.* Negroes have already shown themselves capable of such functional cooperation.

Some favorable elements in the situation are migration, advances in education, industrialization and unionization, cooperation between white and Negro leaders, establishment of courses and field projects by Southern colleges and universities, and the tendency on the part of progressive Southern political leaders to consider problems of the South not racial but economic, geographic, and social.

According to the author, the biggest

single development in the field of citizenship and race relations in the South within recent years was the organization of the Southern Regional Council in 1944. Other indications of progress are the addition of Negroes to post-war planning boards; hospitals and clinics with white and Negro staffs; wider employment opportunities.

There is a growing number of white leaders in Southern communities, small and large, rural and urban, who have the desire and courage to direct constructive change. They want to know what is being done successfully in the field of human relations. They should study the movement "into the main stream," so that they may be able to establish and direct trends, not merely wait for them.

This book is positive, realistic, and constructive. It pierces the veil of emotional reaction into a new era of interracial progress which submits itself to intelligent cooperative planning.

SOUTHERN EXPOSURE by Stetson Kennedy. Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1946. 364 pages. $3.00

WHAT one sees in the South as it is revealed by Stetson Kennedy depends upon the point from which he looks at the portrait which the author has done in black and white. From the skies where some men go to look down in holy horror on a "benighted land" the unmasked South is one thing. From within the section where one has become inured to or incensed with all that is described in *Southern Exposure* it is another picture. From the Mason and Dixon line with one's back to the North and eyes focused on an isolated South it is still another.

To see what the author sees, however, one must stand by his side with backs to the gulf on to the Rio Grande and look northward at a South of traditional inertia, of woeful deficiencies in the essentials of the democratic way of life, and of sectional pride and smoldering resentment that flares at men or movements which essay to change one jot or tittle of the old before the new guarantees to preserve the cherished essentials of the old.

But one's gaze moves on now beyond the Mason and Dixon line into a realm of men who have, in pursuit of their own selfish ends, directly or indirectly contributed to the present shortcomings of the South. It is this picture of these thirteen states not only as a section but also as a region of the country as a whole, and in interaction with the North, which is indispensable to complete understanding of what Mr. Kennedy portrays.

It is a ruthless survey of political, social and economic conditions of a part of the United States which produced the author himself as well as his forebears as far back as the Revolution. The secrets of the Klan and other hate-dispensing organizations are laid bare in a way that is possible only by one who has been on the inside. Southern politics with northern slush funds, the blatant demogogue, and the Negro pawn becomes a sordid story of selfish intrigue. The author devotes part three of the book to "The Road Ahead," some suggestions as to the way out. He evaluates Federal aid to agriculture, health and education, the TVA, expanding industrialization, the labor movement in the region, fair employment practice, and gives some suggestions as to how the Negro can achieve "total equality."

Southern Exposure uncovers the South, and those who are responsible for her present plight. Mr. Kennedy's tendency to probe into some sensitive wounds of yesteryear can be forgiven. He is almost three generations from 1860, and could not be expected to view the situation through the same eyes as his grandfather who fought in the Civil War.

For anyone who would know the South of today, the book is essential reading. H.L.T.

'White Man, Yellow Man'

In *White Man, Yellow Man* (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press), Arva C. Floyd traces in outline the relationship between the two great blocks of humanity represented by the European and the Asiatic peoples. He has sketched in the main outlines of the contacts of European peoples with the East and has indicated the significance of these contacts in our present day relations with China and Japan.

Dr. Floyd's volume is a brief and easily read summary of the long story that lies back of our present relationship with the Far East. His book makes a contribution to our understanding of the significance of this particular moment in history and it should inspire further study of the complex problems involved in our relations with the Orient.

The author, professor of Missions and Oriental History at Emory University, writes out of a long study of the East enriched by four years of teaching in mission and government schools in Japan.

—*Ina Corinne Brown.*

Over against legislation meant to preserve the white primary in South Carolina and Georgia, and similar threats in Florida and Mississippi, it is interesting to note that in Arkansas a law enacted for that purpose two years ago has just been repealed.

The repeal bill, which was sponsored by the author of the very law it set aside, was introduced early in the present legislative session and was passed by unanimous vote of both houses.

The University of Southern California announces its second summer Workshop in Intercultural Education from June 23 to August 1, 1947. The Workshop carries six units of graduate credit, and includes a lecture series, Sociology 192, entitled *Racial and Cultural Tensions in America.* The Workshop activities will center about the individual and group problems of the members. Membership in the Workshop is limited to forty. Application should be made to Mrs. Jane Hood, School of Education, The University of Southern California, Los Angeles 7, California, not later than May 15.

Businessmen Urged to Back Teachers In Demands for Higher Salaries

Calling the question of teachers' salaries a "major emergency," James H. McGraw, Jr., in an editorial appearing in the current McGraw-Hill magazines, addresses an appeal directly to the business community and, he says, "to its hard core of common sense."

Including librarians in the underpaid group, Mr. McGraw says that in purchasing power, public school teachers' salaries, after taxes, average about 20 percent less than they did eight years ago. Beginning salaries of librarians, always low, have fallen behind an equal amount in purchasing power, and college and university teachers are not much better off, he believes.

"The crisis in education is a crisis for the nation as a whole. However, the salary crisis in education is in special measure a crisis for the business community. That community has a special stake in having a well-educated and well-disposed constituency."

NEW SOUTH

Published by
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Paul D. Williams.....*President*
P. B. Young.....*Vice-President*
Frank W. Spencer.....*Vice-President*
Carter Wesley.....*Vice-President*
Charles S. Johnson, ...*Chmn. Exec. Com.*
George S. Mitchell....*Executive Director*
Harold L. Trigg.....*Associate Director*
Guy B. Johnson.....*Consultant*
Ray Warwick *Dir. Public Relations*

Subscription rate . . . . $1.00 a year

ATLANTA, GEORGIA, APRIL, 1947

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.